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## REFLECTIONS OF RITUAL IN PAUL

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Alongside the doctrine that our Gospels, in their general structure as well as their individual anecdotes, reflect the beliefs and practice of the primitive brotherhoods which gave them currency, should stand (if the theory be valid) some corresponding reflection in the still older Pauline Epistles. Especially should we expect Baptism and the Eucharist to affect the mode of teaching.

Direct references are of course not wanting. Orderly observance of the Lord's Supper is one of the objects in view in the writing of First Corinthians. We take our own ritual from 1 Cor. 11 23-26. Rom. 6 3 f. expounds the significance of Baptism, not without clear implication that the Romans, though no converts of Paul, must have been taught a similar doctrine. Gal. 5 21 and 1 Cor. 15 1-11 refer respectively to primitive ethical teaching and to the outline of the apostolic preaching of the Resurrection. Besides these we have more indirect references to primitive doctrinal confessions in Rom. 10 9 f., 1 Cor. 8 4-6 and 12 3. These more or less conscious and intentional allusions have a certain analogy with those Gospel narratives, such as the Feeding of the Multitude, the Last Supper, Vigil in Gethsemane, Passion, and Resurrection, which have a recognized adaptation to known observances of the early church. How illuminating both to narrative and ritual the perception of this relation may become needs hardly to be mentioned.

But it is something more and different when the treatment of other subjects is affected, be it in the Gospels

or in Paul, by familiarity with the ritual. On the small scale we notice it in the Gospels, when Mk. 10 38 f. gives the saying of Jesus to the sons of Zebedee in the form: "Ye shall indeed drink my cup, and with the baptism wherewith I am baptized shall ye be baptized"; whereas Mt. 20 23 has only: "My cup ye shall indeed drink." We notice it similarly in Paul when in 1 Cor. 10 2-4 Israel is said to have been "baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and did all eat the same spiritual meat and drink the same spiritual drink." One may well ask whether the influence thus apparent has not gone deeper and affected the general structure of argument and story.

Baptism and the Lord's Supper seem in fact to constitute the two foci of gospel tradition. The Galilean Ministry is related as an account of how Jesus *when he was baptized* was endowed with all the powers of the Spirit of Adoption and how he thenceforth pursued his career full of "the word of wisdom and the word of power." One can hardly fail to see the parallel to the neophyte's experience in baptism and the accompanying endowment with "gifts of tongues" and "prophecy, miracles, helps, healings," and the rest. The Judaean Ministry simply prolongs backward the interpretation of the rite of *the Blood of the New Covenant*. It begins where Jesus, setting his face toward Jerusalem, reveals to the Twelve the doctrine of the Cross and Resurrection. Its few sporadic miracles are all symbolic. Its anecdotes all deal directly or indirectly with the single lesson: Die to live.

We may well imagine that the clustering of anecdotes and sayings from the story of Jesus' life about these two foci, so that each half of the gospel narrative has its appropriate beginning and ending, is partly owing to the fact that Baptism and the Lord's Supper would inevitably be the chief occasions for rehearsing the story.

Is there, then, any similar unconscious influence traceable in the general structure of the Pauline Epistles where these come nearest to the form of systematic expositions of Paul's "gospel"? Is there an analogous grouping in Romans and Ephesians, and perhaps Galatians as well, even if the Corinthian letters, and others whose specific occasion has determined the course of thought, show no such tendency? It will be well before attempting an answer to consider first what evidences appear even in First Corinthians, written in answer to a series of questions by Paul's correspondents, and apparently answering them *seriatim*, of incidental reflection of ritual. For besides the general features common to all the Epistles which adapt them to public reading in the churches—we mention only the closing Benediction (in 2 Cor. 13 13 Trinitarian in form) so closely analogous to the Benediction which it was the prerogative of the Levite (Num. 6 22-27) to pronounce in the synagogue at the close of the service—there are certain well known features of First Corinthians which almost certainly reflect the observances of Passover. The letter implies its composition at about this date (cf. 16 8), and as we know by abundant later testimony the celebration of the great Jewish Feast of Redemption did not cease in the Christian church. Its ritual continued with slight alteration, but with a spiritualization and enhancement of its meaning. Thus in 1 Cor. 5 7 f. we have allusion to the ceremony of Purging of Leaven, preparatory to Passover (or more strictly to Unleavened Bread, the seven-day feast of the new grain-harvest ushered in by Passover). The reflection of the ritual here is quite unmistakable. At mid-day of Nisan 13, a few hours before the slaughtering of the lambs, it was the duty of each Jewish householder, upon signal given by the priestly authorities, to inaugurate a formal search of the premises, removing every vestige of the leaven of the last year's use, that after

the seven days of unleavened bread (*mazzoth*) the new year might be begun with fresh leaven. We cannot, then, mistake the figure when Paul writes to the Corinthians: "Purge out the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump of dough (*φύραμα*), even as ye are unleavened (*ἄζυμοι*); for our Passover, too, hath been slaughtered, even Christ. So then let us keep festival not with old leaven, nor with leaven of malice and wickedness, but with unleavened cakes (*ἄζύμους*) of sincerity and truth." The reference here cannot indeed be properly called "aetiological," for Paul is not attempting to account for or support the Jewish rite; but his language is influenced by it to an extent which clearly proves that the Corinthians, Gentiles though they were, if not actually engaged in a ceremonial corresponding to the Jewish, were at least quite familiar with the Jewish ritual. And this inference is important, for, while the fact is not generally recognized, there is ample evidence that the allusions to the ceremonial of this two-fold feast—Passover-Unleavened Bread—extend all through the Epistle and should be decisive on vital points of interpretation.

The central feature of the Passover rites for Christian symbolism was of course the slaughter of the lamb in the evening of Nisan 14. The central feature of Unleavened Bread was the lifting up before God in the temple of the "wave-sheaf" of "First-fruits" on Nisan 16. By his resurrection on the third day (*i.e.* Nisan 16, the third day after the slaughter of the lambs) "Christ became," says Paul, "the First-fruits of them that slept." Indeed the ideas and symbolism of this Festival of the New Corn underlie the whole of his great chapter on the Resurrection Body (1 Cor. 15). In particular, he compares the death *and burial* of Jesus to the kernel of grain dropped into the soil seemingly to perish, but really to receive from God a new body (corresponding to the old) through the mighty working of the resurrection life.

Christ likewise, says the Apostle, "died for our sins according to the Scriptures *and was buried*, and was raised again the third day according to the Scriptures." This common gospel, preached alike by Paul and all other evangelists (ver. 11), is the starting point for an exposition of his doctrine of the resurrection body. There is indeed great dispute among commentators and critics as to what "Scripture" can be referred to in Paul's allusion to "the third day," seeing Hos. 6 2 is never so employed by early writers. But if we continue with his argument throughout the chapter, observing that his thesis in verse 20 is a comparison of the risen Christ to the "wave-sheaf" of new corn lifted up before God in the ceremony of "First-fruits" on Nisan 16, we shall see at least a correspondence with "the Scriptures" which prescribe the ritual of Passover and Unleavened Bread (Lev. 23 4-14). The ritual direction is that "on the morrow after the sabbath (*i.e.* after the first day of Unleavened Bread, "the fifteenth day of the same month," ver. 6) the priest shall wave the wave-sheaf before the Lord." Thereafter seven weeks are to be numbered until Pentecost, thus making an unbroken festival, the Feast of Weeks, whose observance, as we know, passed over from Judaism into the Christian church. "First-fruits" fell in the year of the crucifixion (Jn. 19 31), if not in every year, on "the first day of the week," which would be, "according to the Scriptures," the "third day" after the slaughtering of the Passover lamb. When, therefore, in 1 Cor. 5 7 Paul makes an equivalence between Jesus' violent death and the slaughter of the lamb on Nisan 14, and in 15 20 between his resurrection and the lifting up to God of the wave-sheaf of First-fruits ("Now is Christ risen from the dead and become the First-fruits of them that slept") on Nisan 16, it is not unreasonable to hold that the "Scripture" on which he professedly bases his calculation of days is that which prescribes the

calendar of the Feast of Weeks, enacting in particular that the ceremony of First-fruits shall take place "on the morrow after the sabbath," "the third day" from the Passover sacrifice. We may even be disposed to think also (though this would be mere conjecture) that the series of "manifestations" related in 1 Cor. 15 1-11 is in a sense a primitive *catechesis* of the Christian Feast of Weeks, the same Pentecostal period which is emphasized in the opening chapters of the Book of Acts.

But suppose that we have not found in Lev. 23 4-14 the true explanation of Paul's reference to Scripture as designating "the third day" as that of the resurrection. Still it remains highly significant that in 1 Cor. 15 20, 36-38, 42 ff. he reverts to the imagery of the current festal season, which he had already applied to the death of Jesus in 5 7, to interpret now Christ's resurrection also. Were it not for the parallel thus drawn between Christ's resurrection body and the wave-sheaf of first-fruits, we should be at a loss to understand the special mention of the *burial* of Jesus in 15 3; for the story of the sepulchre found empty (which was either unknown to Paul or else has been purposely ignored by him) plays no part whatever in his argument. No; his mention of the burial serves to complete the parallel with the *wheat sown in the ground* (ver. 35-38), for which God provides a new body "even as it pleased Him, and to each seed a body of its own." Realization of the allusion to the ceremonial of "First-fruits" makes the meaning clearer, just as is the case with the allusion to Purging of the House from Leaven in the chapter urging the Corinthian church to purify itself from immorality.

We are not yet at an end with the use of Passover themes in First Corinthians. When Paul would correct the abuses at Corinth in his converts' celebration of the Lord's Supper, he reminds them that by proper observance they "proclaim" (καταγγέλλετε) the Lord's

death. The term is indeed a suitable one to describe the *ιερός λόγος* of the mysteries, the drama set forth in these mystical rites, but (what doubtless is much closer to the mind of Paul) it describes exactly that parallel feature of the ritual of Passover prescribed in Ex. 12 26 f., which makes the "proclaiming" of the story (the *haggada*) the most vital part of the whole.

Passover themes are again reflected in 1 Cor. 10 1-5; for the incidents of the flight from Egypt, passage through the Red Sea, feeding with manna, supplying with water from the rock, employed by Paul to set forth the Christian sacraments, are scenes from the Redemption story which Passover commemorates. Israel, when they passed from the bondage, the darkness and death of Egypt through the Red Sea, and were covered by the guiding cloud of the divine Presence as they journeyed under direction of Moses toward the Promised Land, "were baptized unto Moses in the sea and in the cloud." The manna which fed them and the water from the smitten rock prefigured the "spiritual meat and drink" of the Lord's Supper.

And Ephesians is almost equally rich in reflections of Passover themes. For Origen (to take but one example) is surely right in his exegesis of the difficult passage Eph. 6 15. This exhortation to "stand, having your loins girt, and your feet shod with the readiness (*ἐτοιμασία*) of the gospel of peace," is an allusion to the Vigil of Passover similar to that in 1 Thess. 5 4-10, in both cases mediated by the Passover imagery of Is. 59 16-20. For the law for the celebration of Passover (Ex. 12 11) prescribes that the feast shall be eaten "in haste," "with your loins girded, your shoes on your feet, and your staff in your hand," ready to fare forth at the word of the "glad tidings of peace" and redemption. This, says Paul, should be the Christian's attitude in his vigil until the dawn of the Redemption morning. For vigil too



belongs to the ritual of Passover. "It is a night of vigil unto the Lord for bringing them out from the land of Egypt, a night of vigil unto the Lord to be observed of all the children of Israel in their generations" (Ex. 12 42).

We might well take note also, while considering these reflections of Passover ritual, that Eph. 1 3-14 is constructed on the rhythmic plan of one of those "spiritual songs and hymns" of the Redemption which are referred to in Eph. 5 19, and that one such has actually been quoted in 5 14.

Thus far we have confined ourselves to reflections of Jewish ritual, or adaptations of them in the Christian assemblies, in the hope that their obvious usefulness for the interpreter will stimulate effort to apply a similar method to the greater and more systematic Epistles with reference to the two distinctively Christian rites of Baptism and the Eucharist.

Romans, unlike First Corinthians and (perhaps) Ephesians, was not written at the very season of Passover. It shortly antedates the "days of Unleavened Bread" spent at Philippi (Acts 20 6). It shows no single trace of such allusions to Passover ritual as fill the chapters of First Corinthians and Ephesians—an argument from silence which lends no small support to our conclusions from those Epistles. On the other hand we do find evidences of something like that aggregation of the material which we have already observed in the Gospels in groups corresponding in significance to the two great sacraments of the Church.

If we look carefully at the outline of Paul's thought in both Galatians and Romans, the two Epistles in which he comes nearest to a systematic exposition of his "gospel," we shall see that it has (so to speak) a certain polarity, and that in both Epistles the two poles of the thought are the same. Indeed Galatians affords a

double illustration of the principle; for Gal. 2 15–21, which gives in retrospect Paul's defence of his principles against Peter before the assembled church in Antioch, is but a sketch in miniature of the fuller defence which occupies the rest of the Epistle. In the dialogue with Peter verses 15, 16 give Paul's doctrine of Justification by Faith. But how can we account for his boldly imputing this doctrine to Peter also, unless it rests back upon a teaching "received" at the very outset (1 Cor. 15 3), a common, fundamental "gospel of the blood of Christ"? Without this indeed the faith of Peter and the Galilean disciples could never have rallied from the shock of Calvary. And to what else than the "cup of the new covenant in the blood of Christ" will that primitive gospel have attached "how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures"?

In the remaining verses of the dialogue (17–21) Paul refutes those who draw the false inference that forgiveness through faith in the blood of Jesus leads to moral laxity. This brief refutation is developed later in the so-called "practical section" of the Epistle, beginning at 5 13; but both in the dialogue and the subsequent development the basis is Paul's doctrine of Life in the Spirit, which is always for Paul at least a doctrine associated with the rite of Baptism. The doctrine of Life in the Spirit is, in fact, like that of Justification in the blood of Christ, general and fundamental, a common doctrine of all Christians.

What is known as the "doctrinal section" of Galatians falls into two portions—an argument in 3 1–4 7, and a direct appeal to the readers to return to their former Christian standing, 4 8–5 12. With the latter we need not here concern ourselves, for its references are to matters of the experience of the Galatian churches. We are concerned with the argument in Gal. 3 1–4 7, which is a strict logical unit, proceeding from the single postu-

late, "This only would I know from you—received ye the Spirit . . . by the hearing of faith?" to the Q. E. D.: "Because ye are sons, God sent forth the Spirit of His Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father. So that thou art no longer a bond-servant but a son; and if a son then an heir through God."

It hardly needs the close parallel in Rom. 8 15–17, 26 f. to prove that this allusion to the cry (in Aramaic) "Abba" is an allusion to the "tongues" which accompanied and were considered to demonstrate the gift of the Spirit at baptism. The inarticulate prayers and groanings spoken of in Romans and the involuntary cry "Abba," had followed immediately in Galatia at the acceptance of Paul's proclamation of his gospel. They had not tarried to manifest themselves after the Judaizers had begun to win converts to their pseudo-gospel of "works of law." The "gifts of the Spirit," so invariable an accompaniment of Baptism to the mind of the early church that when they failed to appear the rite was administered a second time (Acts 19 1–7), had been the seal of God's own approval upon Paul's work in Galatia, so that he can well afford to rest his whole case, as he says he will, on "this only." We are quite prepared, therefore, for the climax of the argument in 3 26 f.: "Ye are all sons of God, through faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ." The "rabbinic" argument based on the use of the singular "seed" (σπέρματι) in Gen. 12 3, anticipated in 3 16, is now drawn out in 3 27–29. We have here Paul's doctrine of Life in the Spirit already advanced in 2 19 f., developed on its mystical side (*unio mystica*).

What we are less prepared for, after the Apostle's undertaking to limit himself to "this only," is his interjection between the appeal to the gifts of the Spirit in 3 2–5 and the reference to Baptism with its accompanying phenomena in 3 26–4 7 of a long section beginning at

3 6 on the Covenant of Promise, central in which are verses 13-14: "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us . . . that upon the Gentiles might come the blessing of Abraham in Christ Jesus, that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith."

The argument, of course, concerns the covenant to Abraham of the Messianic blessings. Against his Judaizing opponents, who contend that the later enactments of ritual observances through Abraham (Gen. 17 9-14) and Moses (Ex. 24 4-8) have equal standing with the original in Gen. 15 3-18, Paul maintains that the Covenant of Promise to Abraham "preached the gospel beforehand." The legal and ritual enactments merely prepared the way for the coming of the world-wide blessing.

There is in Gal. 3 6-26 no specific mention of the Eucharist; yet it is manifest that the whole question turns upon the significance of the death of Christ, just as it did in the dialogue with Peter (2 21). Paul seeks to impose a meaning upon the "cup of the new covenant in the blood of Christ" which his opponents will not admit. The dialogue (2 16 f.) implies that they recognized it as "unto remission of sins," but not as implying that justification was not *also* through the law.

It is not, then, a surprising familiarity with the Old Testament generally which is presupposed by Paul among his Galatian converts in the doctrinal section of his Epistle when he digresses at 3 6 to speak of the revelations to Abraham and Moses, but only a familiarity with those portions which have a bearing upon—we may even say, are presupposed by—the doctrine of the New Covenant in the blood of Christ, a doctrine indubitably current wherever the Eucharist was observed.

Thus the doctrinal section of Galatians has the same "polarity" as the Gospels, or as its own account of Paul's

dialogue with Peter. The author sets out to prove that the baptismal "gifts of the Spirit" are a divine endorsement of his gospel of Justification without works of law. But he does not seem able to reach it except by way of his Redemption doctrine, and an exhibition of the true relation between the Covenant of Promise to Abraham and the Covenant of the Blood of Jesus. And when he has finished with his teaching of Baptism on the mystical side, as a guarantee of unity in the all-pervading Spirit of Jesus, he still returns again, showing in his "practical section" (5 13-6 10) how Life in the Spirit supersedes the need of law.

If in so practical an Epistle as Galatians Paul's thought should seem to "polarize" about Baptism and the Eucharist, it should occasion no surprise that in so systematic a presentation as Romans, a statement of his gospel written to forestall misrepresentation among believers he has never seen, Paul should employ the same structure for his thought. Particularly we should expect to find it in those central chapters which form the substance of his defence. And we are not disappointed.

It is common to subdivide the argument of Rom. 3-8 under the two heads, Justification and Sanctification. But we may better express the fact, in terms borrowed directly from the text, if we describe these chapters as setting forth first Paul's Doctrine of Reconciliation (*καταλλαγή*), and second his Law of the Spirit of Life. Up to Rom. 5 11 Paul's subject is the Atonement. He is defending a doctrine of justification by faith in the blood of Christ as the true issue, and as the God-intended meaning of the Covenant with Abraham. From 5 12 to the end of chapter 8 we have a new subject. The theme has become the Regeneration of Man and the Creation by Indwelling Spirit. The Apostle is expounding a doctrine of the Restoration of All Things (*ἀποκατάστασις παντῶν*) in the freedom of the Sons of God, and defend-

ing it against the charge that it gives the rein to sin. The relation of Rom. 3 19-5 11 to Gal. 3 6-18 is universally acknowledged. But a relation scarcely less close will appear between Rom. 5 12-8 39 and Gal. 3 19-4 7 so soon as it is perceived that the basis of reasoning on both sides is a doctrine of Life in the Spirit, a doctrine which we have learned to recognize as the essence of Paul's "teaching of Baptisms."

With the ensuing chapters (Rom. 9-11), containing Paul's special apologetic on the relation of Jew and Gentile in the divine economy, we need not concern ourselves, nor with the practical application of the whole in chapters 12-15. We are concerned with his *Weltanschauung*, his survey of "the whole tenor of the Scriptures," as the author of the *Muratorianum* has phrased it, his scheme of redemption as exhibited in 1 18-8 39, more particularly in his "gospel," which centres on the themes of justification by the blood of Christ (5 9) and regeneration through the Spirit (6 10 f.).

Even without the express references to the justifying blood of Christ (3 25, 5 9) in the first of these divisions, followed by a direct appeal to the symbolism of Baptism in the second (6 3 f.), it would be manifest from the general course of thought that Eucharist and Baptism are the nuclei of the respective elements of Paul's gospel. But let us trace the progress of his logic.

The introductory argument in Rom. 1 18 to 3 20 may be designated Paul's *kerygma*. It has the elements of the conventional Stoic "diatribe," especially as we find the diatribe in its Hellenistic adaptation and in its ultimately Christian form. Norden in his *Agnostos Theos* has familiarized us with the literary type, though (as was natural) he has not traced its pedigree with equal clearness on the Hebrew side through Deutero-Isaiah and Wisdom of Solomon. Paul's moral survey first of the Gentile, then of the Jewish world, to the

utter condemnation of both, is made, as the Apostle himself declares (3 19 f.), "that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may be brought under the judgment of God: because by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified in his sight." All this, accordingly, is only preliminary. It introduces as a *τριτὸν γένος* "the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ," whose general propositions are thereupon stated in outline in 3 21-31. It is here, then, that Paul's "gospel" in the strictest sense begins.

The demonstration of a righteousness, or justification (*δικαιοσύνη, δικαίωσις*), by faith as a prerogative of the "weak" and "ungodly," "sinners" and "enemies of God," against those who seek it under the covenant of Abraham through "works of law" occupies the whole of chapter 4 and is concluded in 5 1-11. The triumphant close is this: "We also glory in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have now received the reconciliation" (*καταλλαγὴν*). We easily recognize Paul's "message of reconciliation," as he terms it in 2 Cor. 5 19-21 "how that God did not reckon unto men their trespasses," but "made him who knew no sin to be sin on our behalf." There is no specific mention of the Eucharist, but the echoes in Rom. 4 25-5 9 of the Isaian passages on which the "received" doctrine was based that "Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures" (1 Cor. 15 3) are the clearest of any in the Pauline writings. We call attention to the Isaian phrases *παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα* (4 25); *δικαιωθέντες εἰρήνην ἔχωμεν* (5 1); *ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν . . . ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν ἀπέθανεν* (5 6); *δικαιωθέντες ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι* (5 9), etc. From the reference to the covenant with Abraham "that he should be heir of the world" (4 13), and the phrase of 5 9 "justified in his blood," it becomes manifest that Paul is expounding the doctrine of the cup of the new covenant in Christ's blood, and the phraseology into which he falls is the Isaian, familiar

to the church in its sacrament of the blood shed "for many" for the remission of sins.

With Rom. 5 12 a new subject is reached—the reign of death, and its overthrow. It is no longer Abraham and his covenant who stands over against Christ as a type of those who should afterward, like Abraham, believe "in God that quickeneth the dead" (4 17 and 24). Now it is Adam and his "one trespass unto all men to condemnation," who is opposed to Christ and his "one act of righteousness unto all men unto justification of life" (5 18 f.).

Baptism is now explicitly brought in as the basis of the doctrine (6 3 f.), because as the vehicle of the infusion of the Spirit of Adoption it mediates the restoration from the death that "entered the world through sin." But after the development of his antithesis of the first and the second Adam, extending to the practical exhortation of 6 12–14 to "present your members as instruments of righteousness to God as alive from the dead," Paul turns to a rebuttal of the charge that the doctrine "not under law but under grace" incites to sin. The attempt involves the clear exposition from 6 15 to 7 25 of the nature of our "freedom" in Christ, and the function of the law as revealing the "law of sin in our members" working death, a fairly close and very illuminating parallel to Gal. 3 19–22. Thereafter follows the great hymn on the Redemption by the Spirit, first of man's own body, second of "the creation itself," into "the liberty of the glory of the children of God," a parallel to Gal. 4 1–7. Thus the Restoration of All Things (*ἀποκατάστασις παντῶν*) through the indwelling Spirit (8 12–39) answers to the doom pronounced on the world when "through one man sin entered into the world and death through sin" (5 12). Thus beginning and end of the argument are bound together, making a unit of this whole section. Life in the Spirit is its theme.



We have no need further to point out that the starting point of this course of thought is the symbolism of Baptism as a "bath of regeneration" (λουτρον παλιγγενέσεως), wherein we are "buried with Christ into death; that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life" (Rom. 6 4). A doctrine of the regenerating Spirit *must* (for that age) revolve around Baptism; because it was in this rite that the neophyte became conscious of receiving the Spirit of Adoption and "the powers of the age to come."

If after Romans we turn to that other great general presentation of Paul's gospel, clearly designed for some group of Asiatic Christians not directly known to Paul in the flesh, though it has borne since an early period in the transmission of the text the title "To the Ephesians," we shall find that, while it resembles First Corinthians in its reflection of the ritual of Passover, it resembles still more closely Galatians and Romans in the "polarization" of its teaching about the symbolism of Supper and Baptism respectively.

In Ephesians the familiar Pauline argument for Justification by Faith has almost totally disappeared. Only lingering echoes remain in the interjected clauses of 2 5 and 8: "By grace have ye been saved." "By grace have ye been saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God; not of works, that no man should glory." With good reason does the polemic disappear. The battle along this line was already won. But the disappearance of the polemic is very far from altering the deeper channels of Paul's thought. It continues to move along the parallel lines of Redemption by the blood of Christ, and Life in the Spirit.

The main division of Ephesians, separating it into two approximately equal parts, is fixed by the author. With the elaborate doxology and Amen at the end of chap-

ter 3 he makes an unmistakable transition from religious faith to practical application. The Prayer which begins at 1 15 after the long and rhapsodical Thanksgiving (1 3-14) is resumed after repeated digressions (1 19b-2 22 and 3 1b-13) in 3 14-19. It is a prayer for the readers' enlightenment by a gift of Christian *gnosis*, so that they may appreciate the infinite and unique grandeur of the Christian calling and inheritance. The digressions serve the purpose of exposition, so that the whole development takes the place of the "doctrinal section" to which we are so accustomed in Paul. Indeed this merging of the Prayer for the readers into a doctrinal exposition is somewhat exceptional, having its nearest Pauline parallel in First Thessalonians. On the other hand, the anticipation of the general themes of the Epistle in the exalted lyric of the Thanksgiving (1 3-14) is characteristic. A pair of three-fold refrains ("to the praise of his glory," ver. 6, 12, 14, and "according to the good pleasure of his will," ver. 5, 9, 11) divides it into three strophes concerned respectively with (1) Foreordination unto adoption as sons in the Beloved (ver. 3-6); (2) Redemption through his blood, attested by the gift of *gnosis* (ver. 7-10); (3) Inheritance as the "own possession" of God (ver. 11-14). The Thanksgiving serves (as so often in Paul) as a general preface to introduce the principal theme of the Epistle—in this case the Inheritance laid up for the Christian "in the heavenlies" with Christ. It is doubtless chosen by opposition to the tendencies (so easily recognizable in the twin letter to the Colossians) to "a gratuitous self-humiliation and worship of angels," "according to the weak and beggarly Elements of the world" (στοιχία τοῦ κόσμου—mere stewards and governors temporarily appointed over the heir, according to Gal. 4 2 f., 8 f.). Appreciation of the power and riches of God in Christ the Heir as evinced in the Resurrection and Exaltation, is consequently the gift Paul entreats

for his readers. But before considering further his Prayer and its elaboration, we must turn to the second division, that of practical exhortation, covering chapters 4-6.

Nothing can exceed the clearness with which in Eph. 4 1-6 9 the course of thought ranges itself under the head of the Pauline teaching of Baptism, or Life in the Spirit. It might really serve as the model, or rather the theoretical basis, for all Paul's ethical exhortations, bringing out the very soul of his doctrine of the indwelling Spirit of God, given through Christ, as root and spring of all right conduct. Here it is developed first in the relation of the various members in the church to one another (4 1-16); of the individual to himself (17-24); of individuals to other individuals, in the brotherhood, in the outside world, and in the church-meeting (4 25-5 2, 3-14, 15-21). Next it is applied to the relations of social authority (*ὑπόταξις*) in the household, the Spirit by its nature of loving service transmuting "subjection" into mutuality, as between husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and slaves (5 22-6 9). The Epistle ends with the exhortation already elucidated, to keep the vigil of the Lord's greater Passover (6 10-20), followed by Greetings (21 f.) and Benediction (23 f.).

It is only occasionally, as in 4 6 and 5 26, that Baptism is explicitly referred to in Ephesians. In a few other passages of this division the phraseology habitually associated with the rite is recognizable (4 30 "sealed in the Spirit"; "put off the old man . . . put on the new man," 4 22-24; "once darkness now light," 5 8); for Paul is concerned with the spiritual message of the rite, not its form. But if further evidence were needed that it is indeed the teaching of Baptism which underlies all this ethical application of the doctrine of Life in the Spirit, it might be drawn from the companion Epistle. Colossians, which has the same framework, and much

of the same phraseology as Ephesians, and which, on the assumption of authenticity for both, must have been written almost at the same sitting, begins the corresponding hortatory section:

"Take heed . . . for in Christ dwelleth all the fulness (spiritual endowment) of the Godhead bodily, and in him ye are made full. . . . In whom ye were also circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands, in the 'putting off' of the body of the flesh, in the circumcision of Christ; having been 'buried with him in baptism,' wherein ye were also raised with him through faith in the working of God who raised him from the dead."<sup>1</sup>

Assuming that the proof is adequate that Eph. 4-6 is based on a doctrine of Baptism, we may return to the Prayer for the reader's enlightenment, which with its two digressions occupies Eph. 1 15 to 3 21. It is the first great digression in 1 19b-2 22 which particularly concerns us, the second (3 2-13) being a mere explanation and justification of Paul's application to himself of the title, "prisoner in behalf of you Gentiles." In the great digression after the mention of the manifestation of God's riches of grace and victorious power in the redemptive work of Christ it will not be hard to recognize that the course of thought is determined by a teaching of "the cup of the new covenant in the blood of Christ."

We have already noted that the shifting of the battle front has left behind the old war-cry of Justification by Faith; but the phrase "reconciliation" (*ἀποκαταλλαγή*) is still present (2 16), though changed in application. The "gospel of peace" preached to "them that are far off and them that are nigh" according to the word of Isaiah (Is. 52 7, 57 19), finds still, as in Rom. 5 1-11, its fulfilment "in the blood of Christ" (Eph. 2 13). Here is still the "reconciliation through the cross" as in the Justification paragraphs of the older Epistles.

<sup>1</sup> Col. 2 8-12; cf. v. 19, 3 1-3, 19 and the corresponding passages in Ephesians.

The mention of the exaltation of Christ to "the right hand of God," "far above all rule and authority and power and dominion, and every name that is named" (Eph. 1 19b-23; cf. Phil. 2 9-11), is just a signal for the launching forth in the whole second chapter upon a survey of the work of redemption filled with the phraseology belonging to the doctrine of the suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah, who "made peace by the blood of the cross."

Those who consider the Epistle deutero-Pauline may regard it as a further and serious objection to Pauline authorship that the "message of reconciliation" (here ἀποκαταλλαγή) is so different from that of the earlier and greater Epistles. The "gospel of peace" is not, as in Rom. 10 15 f., news of the reconciliation with God proclaimed by the heralds of the cross, but Christ's own proclamation, effected in the cross, of reconciliation between Jew and Gentile. By abolishing in his flesh the enmity, the law of commandments in ordinances, Christ made peace between circumcision and uncircumcision, and brake down the middle wall of partition (2 11-16). This is a decided change from Rom. 5 10, where sinful men are the "enemies" whom God reconciles to himself through the death of His Son. But, however we account for the difference, the parallelism is greater, and presupposes a common doctrine of the cross. The cross is in both (1) a demonstration of the great love wherewith God loved us even when we were dead through our trespasses (Eph. 2 4-7; cf. Rom. 5 8), and (2) an "abolition of enmity," a "reconciliation" which is not merely between Jew and Gentile but of "both in one body unto God" (Eph. 2 16; cf. Rom. 5 10).

This whole second chapter of Ephesians thus reveals itself as a parallel (whether Pauline or deutero-Pauline) to the "message of reconciliation" (καταλλαγή) which we have already recognized in Romans as a doctrine of the new covenant "in the blood of Christ." The

mention of "his flesh" and his "blood" (ver. 13, 15) is the more significant from the (somewhat incongruous) combination at the close (3 20-22) of the figure from the great Passover-psalm of the stone rejected by the builders but chosen by God to be the head of the corner (Ps. 118 22; cf. Is. 28 16), with the Isaian figure of the suffering Servant whose blood is made an atonement offering (Is. 52 15, 53 10-12).

The foregoing survey of the great Epistles in which Paul comes nearest to a systematic presentation of his "gospel"—Galatians, Romans, and Ephesians—may perhaps suffice to bear out the view that we have also in Paul traces of the same tendency observable in the structure of the Gospels, a tendency of the thought to "polarize" about the two great sacraments of the church. Paul's written "gospel" has the structural character we should look for if that oral gospel which he "received" (1 Cor. 15 1, 3) was already to some extent thus aggregated. It may be conceived as consisting of two elements: (1) A doctrine of the "justifying blood" of the new covenant, based on an identification of Jesus with the suffering Servant of Isaiah. (2) A "teaching of Baptisms," whose central thought was Life in the Spirit. What is obviously true on the small scale in 1 Cor. 10 1-4 would seem to be true on the larger scale in Paul's systematic presentations of his teaching. They do reflect the sacramental ritual of the primitive Church.